Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 317 694 203 is known by the way in which the *lasi* is disturbed. In Loto the men sit in the guard houses where they command a wide view of the reserve and indulge in craft activities, gossip, drink, and eat nuts. The women guards plait mats, cook talo meals, eat nuts, and amuse themselves as they wish. The Yato men wander about the reserve, play games, and fill in the rest of the day with eating and sleeping. Three nights each week, usually after dark, the guard passes along the village road and reports to the village on the state of the reserve. One man is chosen to make the report (*vanaaga*). In a loud voice, he mentions the amount of thieving that the guard has noticed, the name of the culprits, if known, the fines to be levied; he warns the people to respect the reserve, not to go there to collect nuts, pandanus leaves, or [633] firewood, until such visits are authorized by the village. When the report is finished, the guard members break into a chant, either an old chant or a new one that they have composed and practiced during the day. This finished, the guards move to another place in the village and repeat the report. A typical report made by the Yato guard on a day when no stealing has been detected is:

Wakatongalongo mai koluu,* o to tuua' kolu lii te vanaaga a te pule ko avatu ki a koluu ia. I a koluu, ave tuku koluu i a koluu tuua ke vakatokatokaia vem i te aoao. Ka pukea tuua i loto, e veyi lot, ngalopalopa. No i ai na manaa ia te vanaaga ke longo koluu taliaga. Wakamaulo koluu vakatokai. Ko te vanaaga ia tua manaa ai ki a koluu. Tuugi ai loo ia te aoao ia.

Listen you of our village to the report of the guard to be made to you. You, don't let your children wander about in the reserve. If we catch (them) within (the reserve), we shall whip them to pieces. Therefore we have brought the report, so that your ears may hear. Obey you well. That is the report we have brought to you. Let the birds now sing. (A chant follows.)

685 696 577 People who have been detected stealing are required to pay fines to the guard, either in nuts or in sennit or other craft objects. The amount of the fine depends on the amount of goods stolen. Once a culprit is detected, all will see to it that the guard, even when from another village, is supported in its efforts to collect fines. Though all believe that stealing from the reserve is immoral, few Pukapukans are above helping themselves to nuts in secret.

625 291 489 In the village of Yato where there are outside reserves to control, guards watch all canoes coming from Motu Kotawa. These must land at a special section of beach for inspection. When guards come back from Motu Kotawa with fruits for the monthly division, other guards, who have remained on Wale, help to carry the fruits to the place of division and are careful to look over the canoes surreptitiously for contraband foods. When the women of Yato are sent to the reserves to cut *kotoma* fern to use as fertilizer for village taro beds, each returning canoe is carefully inspected by guards who

195 * Note the use of the dual pronoun of the first and second persons plural, rather than the plural pronouns, *matou*, *tatou*. The latter is used in all public pronouncements.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerve-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Watu-manava-mai, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 33) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolo. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

853 846 end of four nights after delivery. They said a child was never given to a woman other than the mother to be nursed.

Twice daily, morning and evening, the infant is bathed either in the sea or in fresh water, and then rubbed with coconut oil. When the cord falls off, coconut oil is spread on the navel. If the navel is sore, a *fuka* leaf may be placed over it and tied with sennit fiber. The child is kept wrapped in a soft kilt or in soft pandanus mats.

851 There is no difference in treatment for the boy and the girl. No public announcement was made of the birth of the first-born child. Birth customs were the same for members of the chiefly families as for the ordinary populace.

845 A prematurely born child (*lama ynatia*), if it is born alive, has all the usual care devoted to it. Jealousy of her husband on the part of the mother is believed to cause the death of a premature child; her bad heart (*ngakau kino*) kills the embryo. A still-born child (*tama na mate i loto o te manava*) is considered tapu and must be buried in the appropriate cemetery, no matter how immature, deformed, or mutilated it may be. Not to bury the child with care would render the mother unable to bear another child. Such children were not named before burial.

[847] Infanticide is unknown today; there is no record of its having been practiced in earlier times.

Twins (*poyanga*) are extremely rare. No ideas are entertained about their desirability. There is no formulated belief as to which of twin children is to be considered the older. Most informants agreed that the first-born would rightly be held the older of the two, though a minority felt that the larger child, irrespective of the order of birth, should be considered the older. No beliefs are held as to the magical powers of twins, nor are any special abilities attributed to them.

Pattern Variations

844 517 Extremely realistic attitudes toward childbirth are held by Pukapukans. No sense of mystery surrounds the event. It is considered interesting to the whole community, as natural as any other fact of life. Anyone who feels inclined, man, woman, or child, has the fullest liberty to be present. Long hours of waiting are helped along with gossiping, joking, and laughter, while the children play about until late hours of the night. But, though the patterns of childbirth are firmly fixed and can be given by most informed adults, nevertheless in specific instances all sorts of confusion and inefficiency may be displayed, some procedures being forgotten, others performed out of order. Each birth is unique in its emotional overtones. A child may be born under matter-of-fact circumstances with hardly a person in the village aware of the fact. In contrast, a birth was witnessed in which the child was a long time being delivered, all those present becoming angry with the par-

845

Lilongalehole and Bongalehole I -3 (1934-8)1938 Pukapukans

873

turient woman because she would not help by confessing her sins, the final arrival of the baby finding all present quite unprepared:

The patient was a young unmarried Ngake woman, in severe labor. She was a nuwaine vave (new to childbirth). Sitting outside the house at about 7 o'clock in the evening on some low, flat blocks of wood which were covered by a bundle of copra sacks, she was bracing herself by pushing down with stiff arms on coconut husks covered by mats piled on either side. She was assisted by five other women, her mother, her older sister, and three relatives. Other people came and went. The sister sat in front supporting the patient's feet under her legs, which gripped the patient's knees and held them tight. The other women held her limbs, her knees or legs, wherever there was room. From time to time the patient's father and classificatory brother came and supported her back, pushing down on her head, shoulders and back. When the labor pains came on, everyone present called out loudly: "Kolomo, kolomo ke ongo, kolomo ke to!" (Bear down, bear down till it aches, bear down till it falls!) Everyone who could reach a hand to the woman gripped her limbs or body and pushed her legs downward and inward to her body, taking care to keep her legs well apart. Some pushed vigorously on her head and shoulders. At times there were at least ten persons all pushing parts of her body and calling to her to push the child out. She was accused of being afraid to press down and was continually scolded for not telling her attendants when the pains came on. The crowd not only remonstrated with her but also with each other, demonstrating in turn how the pushing should best be done and what type of groaning and grunting best helped the act of bearing down. Men made witticisms at every opportunity. Children became sleepy and drifted off to their homes. Gradually the crowd dispersed.

In the intervals between pains, one of the men or her sister sat behind the patient to hold her shoulders and support her back. For the rest of the time her back was unsupported, for she had been made to sit just far enough away from the framework of the house to be unable to lean against the house walls. She occasionally rose and walked to the beach, supported by her sister; her mother usually remained behind, giving them over by an opportunity to shout to her for not helping. Standing up brought on mild labor pains. The patient's hands and arms became very tired from leaning on them so long, but no change of position was suggested. She would squat low on her legs however or sit on her sister's knees for a change. Mosquitoes began to worry her until one of the attendants thought to fan her. At about 5 a.m. she went off to sleep.

In the morning an old woman of Loto who was reputed to possess special abilities for speeding up delayed deliveries arrived and everyone became noticeably more cheerful. She made up some special remedy for the patient, who refused to drink the rather muddy looking liquid. Later she yielded to pressure and swallowed several gulps. Then she was moved to a shady place on the beach under some coconut trees. The medicine woman placed her hands on the patient's abdomen and shook it up and down; she also exerted pressure with her finger tips on the abdomen in several places. Each time the patient pressed down she had vomiting fits, so she refused to bear down as much as the attending group thought necessary.

[517]

There was a constant coming and going of people at this time. There had been a death in Yato early in the morning and the group was constantly changing as women went off to attend the death ceremonies, or returned from them bringing all the news. Children played round the group on the beach. When they became noisy, they were ordered away to play elsewhere or told to go to Yato to see the death.

Rosa came with no sign of the baby. The women decided that the patient should squat low on the only remaining method of speeding up delivery, but she would say nothing. Soon it started to rain and the patient was removed to the veranda of the house. She drank coconut liquid and ate ota. About 4 p.m., after repeated urgings to confess, the girl broke down, burst into tears, and in a low voice interrupted by sobs, called freely. One woman said she confessed to having sinned against her mother, but

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excellence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

Introduction

121 The following string figures were collected at odd moments
126 during the course of formal ethnological study of Pukapukan culture in 1934-1935. Information about this Polynesian atoll, its culture and the nature of the joint research of Ernest Beaglehole and myself is given elsewhere (1). I am indebted

1. See 2, Literature Cited, page 27.

to Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, for assistance in making the photographs from which the line drawings have been made. Ernest Beaglehole has helped me prepare this manuscript for publication.

Figures

524 String figures (waiwai) are made by Pukapukans with lengths
517 of pandanus material (lito). Both children and adults enjoy making the figures whenever the spirit moves them. "Crazes" are common. For days at a time everyone has a piece of pandanus in his hand and makes the figures whenever he has a moment to spare. Experts good naturedly teach novices, and children too young to apprehend nevertheless proudly contrive with weirdly tangled strings to emulate their elders. Then the craze dies down and no one bothers with the figures until a later chance spark recreates popular interest. The figures are made for amusement only. They have no religious or magical import.

Though most can make the majority of figures collected, only a few know them all. All the people however are familiar with the names of every old figure and are quick to label as a mere thing (mea wua) of no account, modern inventions.

The following collection includes, with one doubtful exception, only authentically old Pukapukan figures.

Comparative note

524 The accompanying table shows the distibution of 17 string
171 figures and 1 trick figure of the Pukapukan series which correspond to figures reported from other Oceanic areas. (2)

2. An asterisk over the name of a figure in the table indicates that the figure is not identical in all movements with the corresponding Pukapukan figure. In most cases one figure continues where the other leaves off. In all cases the figures are sufficiently alike over a series of movements for the correspondence to be noteworthy.